Library
MAY 1 1

THE
Commonweal

WILLIAM V. O'BRIEN
The Fate of Counterforce

Gray Spring in Hazard
STEPHANIE GERVIS

After Four Hundred Years
ILLTUD EVANS

JOHN COGLEY: CHANGE IN THE CHURCH • CONOR CRUISE O'BRIEN'S KATANGA STORY • THREE STUDIES OF THE POETRY OF ROBERT FROST • THE MEANING OF AUTHORITY

VOLUME LXXVIII, NO. 8 MAY 17, 1963 TWENTY-FIVE CENTS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TEACHING POSITIONS

Saint David's School

New York City

An elementary school for Catholic boys, conducted by the laity, invites applications from teachers:

Fifth grade — man — English, Mathematics, History, Science, and Religion

Second grade — woman — Phonetic Reading, Arithmetic, and Religion

Nursery School — full program of pre-school activities including religious instruction.

Write giving full particulars of educational background and teaching experience to:

SAINT DAVID'S SCHOOL
12 East 89th Street
New York 28, N. Y.

Aquinas Preparatory School

Louisville, Kentucky

A college preparatory school for boys conducted by the Catholic laity under the patronage of the Archbishop of Louisville.

Now accepting applications for teaching positions in the upper school, grades 9 through 12.

Write: Malachy F. Cleary, Headmaster

AQUINAS PREPARATORY SCHOOL
Brown's Lane, Box 7247
Louisville 7, Kentucky

THIS WEEK

EDITORIALS

211 The Need for Spokesmen
212 Postscript on Catholic U.
212 Birmingham, a City
213 Dr. Rock's Book

ARTICLES, FEATURES

214 Old Soldiers Never Die
by John Cogley
216 The Fate of Counterforce
by William V. O'Brien
219 Catholics and Isolationism
by James O'Gara
220 Gray Spring in Hazard
by Stephanie Gervis
222 After Four Hundred Years
by Illtud Evans

VERSE

224 Denim
by J. F. Kittleson

DEPARTMENTS

224 The Stage
by Richard Gilman
225 The Screen
by Philip T. Hartung
226 Correspondence
227 Books

THE COMMONWEAL
232 Madison Avenue, New York 16, N.Y.

EDWARD S. SKILLIN, *Editor*
JAMES O'GARA, *Managing Editor*
DANIEL CALLAHAN, *Associate Editor*
JOHN LEO, *Associate Editor*
WALTER ARNOLD, JR., *Assistant Editor*

RICHARD GILMAN, *Drama Critic*
PHILIP T. HARTUNG, *Movie Critic*
WILLIAM V. SHANNON, *Washington*
ROBERT BARRAT, *Paris*
GUNNAR D. KUMLIEN, *Rome*
MICHAEL P. FOGARTY, *Great Britain*

JOHN BRUBAKER, *Advertising Manager*

Second-class postage paid at Norwalk, Conn. Printed in the U.S.A. and published weekly, except biweekly from mid-July to mid-September, at 116 Main St., Norwalk, Conn., by The Commonweal Publishing Co., Inc., 232 Madison Ave., New York 16, N.Y. MUrray Hill 3-2042. Copyright © 1963 The Commonweal Publishing Co., Inc. U.S. and Canada, $8 a year. Foreign, $10. Single copies 25¢.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE COMMONWEAL

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS, LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

The Need for Spokesmen

A SPRING like this with advancing prosperity brings slim expectations of wide-scale socio-economic change. The advantages of a higher incidence of Congressional liberals and a somewhat greater willingness of House and Senate to go along with the President are counterbalanced by the unexpected business upturn. Non-farm employment of over sixty-eight millions in April was a record. Business optimism, with an appreciable increase in capital outlay, is expected to accelerate. For many Americans things could hardly look better.

Several states officially reflect the prevailing mood. This is particularly noteworthy in fiscal matters. When New Hampshire adopted a sweepstakes lottery as the means of amassing funds for its public schools, this was followed by lottery legislation in Rhode Island. Meanwhile New Jersey, which has been getting by for years without either sales taxes or a state income tax, is planning once more to postpone tackling its problem by borrowing the moneys it needs for highways, schools and other public institutions through a bond issue involving more than a half a billion in interest payments. The tendency to evade direct responsibility for social needs is widespread.

Distractions are easy to come by in present-day United States. It is difficult for the victims of various inequities to make their plight known. Unemployment, which continues unabated even in these good times, indicates some of the reasons. It is difficult for localities which have been abandoned by the plant that provided the bulk of local employment, or for idle Kentucky-West Virginia coal miners, or for the small farmer snowed under by big farming corporations, to make pleas that will have any national impact. The same is true for older workers displaced by automation, younger unskilled workers unable to get a start or the unemployed from racial minority groups. And perhaps no exploited group of men, women and children has fewer friends in court than America's migratory farm workers.

The nation's unmet health needs provide further examples. Everyone knows that bodily ills accelerate with age, that the number of elder citizens is rising steadily and that few of those who are through working have the income to obtain adequate medical care. Yet support for the Administration's medicare program or other legislation to a similar end is anything but wholehearted. Through the big slick women's magazines and the wide circulation of such volumes and movies as "The Snake Pit" the bad conditions in most mental hospitals have become known the country over. Yet where are the required programs and appropriations for these patients, who of all our groups are the least able to make representations for themselves?

THEN THERE is the whole area of urgent urban needs. One of these is transportation. Some cities have already reached the traffic saturation point while others are directly heading for it—at the very moment local rapid transit is falling into decay, tracks are being torn up and the railroads are attempting to counter deficits by further curtailing services. How many citizens in this complacent era appear to be the least exercised about even their own local transit prospect? And as the residents of our deteriorating city slums tend to belong to racial minorities, or for other reasons occupy the lowest rungs on the economic ladder, they too are able to exert little public influence. Yet the National Planning Association says the rebuilding of our cities would provide jobs for three million lower-skilled workers for the next twenty years.

It has long been assumed that a combination of Northern Republicans and Southern Democrats alone stands in the way of an adequate New Frontier domestic program. House votes in recent months indicate that this has become less of an obstacle, although the blocking power of several senior

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Southern Democrat committee chairmen remains. What is emerging more clearly is that a self-centered and materially secure electorate must share the responsibility for America's public neglect with the most adamant Congressional conservatives.

Since most of the neglected are not themselves able to convince their fellow-citizens of what needs to be done, how are the materially prosperous American people to be shaken out of their social apathy? We give every promise of continuing in our present untroubled way. The nation has seldom been in greater need of champions for its neglected causes—spokesmen with the personalities and dedication to arouse and convince, and with the ability to make causes come alive in human terms. If such men are not able to persuade us what needs to be done in terms of our own personal self-interest, they might suceed in showing us how much is at stake in each of these neglected areas for the future well-being of our children.

Postscript on Catholic U.

THE BOARD of trustees of Catholic University has issued a postscript to the protracted controversy over the banning of four prominent theologians from a campus lecture series. Although apparently intended as a final word on the dispute, the trustees' resolutions raise further questions.

By now the outline of the controversy is quite clear. The names of four theologians—Fathers Murray, Kung, Diekmann and Weigel—were struck from a list of prospective speakers at a student-sponsored Lenten lecture series. The university's official explanation, belated and limp, was that the controversial views of the four might seem to commit the university to one side of several matters still to come before the Second Vatican Council. Some weeks afterward, the controversy drew further charges of suppression against the university, stretching back ten or more years. These later charges, presented as an afterthought when the tide seemed to be running against Catholic U., were serious but received comparatively little attention.

Last week, the university board of trustees, composed of the American Cardinals and Archbishops, three bishops and six laymen, voted three resolutions. Though the number and identity of those attending was not divulged, it is known that the vote of at least those present was unanimous. The resolutions said that the rector and vice-rector were within their authority in striking the four names from the list, that the charges of abuse and suppression at the university were "untrue and unwarranted," and that a new committee is to be set up at the university to decide who will give public lectures at the university.

The first resolution, intended to vindicate the top officials at Catholic U., makes no comment on their prudence or judgment in banning the four theologians. It is the kind of statement that could have been expected to attract (and did attract) headlines like "Trustees Uphold Catholic U. Rector," even though what was upheld—the authority of the rector—was never in dispute.

According to the second resolution, "clear evidence submitted to the board of trustees" shows that charges given wide publicity are untrue and unwarranted. Here the board makes no attempt to distinguish between the later charges—which, whatever their merit, are not detailed enough for sober judgment—and the central charge concerning the banning of the four theologians. By lumping together unspecified charges, the board is able to deny "abuses and suppression" without discussing the point at issue: whether the denial of a platform to the four theologians constituted an abuse. It is hard to see what evidence the board could have to show that the central charge is "untrue and unwarranted."

Even more unsettling, the "clear evidence" upon which the board bases its surprising findings is not divulged. In regard to the banning of the four speakers, the evidence presented over the past three months would seem to support an opposite conclusion. If the board has information that would overthrow the known evidence, it would seem logical to present it publicly.

The case of the later charges is no less grave. It has been claimed that a noted biblical scholar was harassed and driven out of the university; that a church historian on the faculty was prevented from addressing a church-state gathering abroad; that the canon law faculty's recommendations to the Second Vatican Council were suppressed. These are serious indictments that deserve greater attention than the board's blanket denial would indicate. It is not at all clear that the charges have been investigated, or even that the men who made them have ever been heard. Whatever their merits, it seems apparent that they require more than a one-sentence claim that all is well at the university.

Birmingham, a City

GOVERNOR George Wallace of Alabama said in a recent talk that the people of Birmingham were "fed up" with racial demonstrations which were "left-wing inspired" anyway. He said he personally was "satisfied with the image of Alabama" and doesn't want it to change. Most recently that image was one

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of police-led dogs tearing at teen-age Negro demonstrators in downtown Birmingham. The television views of these vicious dogs which, together with high-pressure fire hoses, were used to quell the demonstrators were enough to outrage even the most dormant of consciences. The "image," such as it was, was one of the corruption of justice and of men gone astray in a futile attempt to suppress fundamental human rights.

The attempt is futile, because it goes against the constitutionally decreed law of the land and because it cannot put off forever the implementation of that law. Birmingham, Alabama, itself has become a kind of test case for the whole South in this matter. The Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., the coordinator of non-violent demonstrations in the South, said, "If we can crack Birmingham, I am convinced we can crack the South."

There is, nevertheless, a question of right timing along the way. Perhaps Dr. King and the other leaders of the latest direct action campaign in Birmingham would have been better advised to have waited until the new and possibly more flexible city administration of Mayor Albert Boutwell was settled in. But, then, perhaps not. At least the violence of the police in the latest incidents has dramatized to the nation and the world the condition of racial segregation in Birmingham. Besides, it is some weeks since the direct action campaign began in that city, and these latest suppressions may represent the last desperate efforts to put it down.

Most of the demonstrators in the latest incidents were in fact school children and teen-agers. To say the least, their spirit and courage were rousing. "Sing children, sing," one teacher said as she led her group up the avenue to the city square. It was clear who won the day as helmeted police herded literally hundreds of laughing, singing boys and girls, who offered no resistance, into Birmingham's jails and houses of detention.

It was, of course, the police who should have been arrested, both for obstructing justice and for vicious assault. But the circuit courts of Alabama continue to oppose the fundamental will and right of the people in that state by forbidding such public demonstrations. A measure of the local perversion of justice may be seen in the fact that the parents of teen-age children who were arrested could be technically charged with contributing to the delinquency of minors, a felony punishable by a long jail term.

For the present it would be well for the campaign to let up a little. At least efforts are being made by Dr. King and the Justice Department to get the two sides talking to one another. As for a "truce," it is clear that there cannot really be one so long as Negroes are denied their constitutional rights there. It must not be forgotten what the Negro citizens of Birmingham are demonstrating for.

Once again there remains the question of the federal government's involvement in the struggle for racial justice. In a sense it does not seem to be doing enough, especially where the local courts are so far behind the law of the land. The very least that could be expected from the Justice Department is a very strong condemnation of the tactics of the police in Alabama. Such dehumanized brutality is surely not to be tolerated in this country.

In the end a great good may possibly come out of this most recent phase of the Birmingham campaign. At least the "just grievances" of the Negro people there have been laid before the community of the nation. Nor is it the judgment of this country alone which is involved. Commenting on the situation in Birmingham, the *Times* of Ghana observed that America's greatness is meaningless so long as racial discrimination continues. Hopefully such judgments from the world at large will in turn reach the citizens of Birmingham and move their truer instincts to reform.

Dr. Rock's Book

AS COULD have been expected, the publication of Dr. John Rock's book, *The Time Has Come,* has occasioned considerable debate. In great part, of course, this reflects the fact that birth control problems have become a major source of tension in the public order. Whatever one says is bound to be controversial. But there is more to the Dr. Rock story than that. He is one of the few Catholics in America who has had the nerve to say what is on his mind about a variety of matters where silence rather than talk is the rule. The result, unfortunately, has been a gleeful lionizing of the doctor by non-Catholics and a generally indignant, trigger-quick Catholic reflex response.

Both reactions seem to us regrettable. Those non-Catholics who seem to go out of their way to publicize Dr. Rock's views, always emphasizing prominently that he is a Catholic, serve the cause of propaganda more than that of balanced discussion. Dr. Rock's book is neither the book of the century nor a *Magna Charta* for enlightened public debate. Much of it is a rehash of material which has been treated in a more subtle and critical manner by others; it is more Dr. Rock's reputation than the contents of the book which give it a sensational air.

The Catholic response has been more complex. It is immediately evident that Dr. Rock's position,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

especially on "the pill," is opposed to the judgment of the majority of theologians who have written about the subject. In addition, his handling of the common teaching of the Church on a number of theological issues is vague at best, and one-sided at worst. It is thus easy to see why many theologians have rejected some of his opinions.

Significantly, the most balanced and sensitive comments came from Richard Cardinal Cushing of Boston. Unlike some Catholic commentators, he did not attempt to read Dr. Rock out of the Church. Instead, he contented himself with commending some parts of the book while also pointing out certain theological inaccuracies. His call upon the doctor to recognize the competence of moral theologians to handle moral issues was pertinent and his criticisms just.

Whatever the final result of the controversy, it points up some of the almost insurmountable difficulties facing any Catholic who attempts to write about the problems of birth control, population and family planning. Unless he simply repeats verbatim the formulas in theological manuals he is likely to arouse hostility, suspicion or condemnation. The immediate consequence of this pervasive atmosphere of fear is that those most qualified to do some theological probing and questioning shy away from publication altogether—or adopt a stilted, circumlocutionary way of expressing themselves. As Professor Vernon J. Bourke of St. Louis University put it on the occasion of an award from the American Catholic Philosophical Association, "You may print the wildest things about essence and existence and never hear from your bishop. Just write something on birth control or censorship and you will find that the slightest novelty will be noticed."

As long as this state of affairs persists, we can hardly expect the kind of bold, honest speculation and re-evaluation that have been the marks of recent work in biblical, liturgical and dogmatic theology. Oddly enough, it appears far safer for theologians to explore the sources of revelation than some of the deductions drawn from natural law principles. Is it any wonder, then, that a book as inadequate as Dr. Rock's should receive publicity out of all proportion to its merits and soundness? Where most Catholics tread with muffled shoes and theologians keep their doubts to themselves, anyone who speaks frankly is bound to be made a hero or a villain.

As most theologians would readily agree, the teaching of the Church on birth control and family planning has not been the subject of an infallible pronouncement by recent popes. For his part, Dr. Rock is misleading when he seizes on that point at the expense of the ordinary magisterium of the Church which has taken an authoritative position binding on Catholics. Yet for all his distortions and over-simplifications, he does raise a pertinent question. Is the matter of birth control and family planning such a closed issue that it can no longer be discussed in depth? No theologian seems to claim anything so extreme. "The time has come"—not to praise or condemn Dr. Rock's book, but for the Church and its theologians to confront anew the issues which he raises.

HERE AND THERE

Old Soldiers Never Die

THE HISTORY of American Catholicism may be divided between a pre- and a post-1960 era. Since the generations melt into one another, it is usually difficult to pinpoint the end of one historic period and the beginning of another. But what is happening to the American Church, whatever it is that is happening, can be traced to the beginning of the present decade, with fair accuracy.

To be sure, certain recent facts were decisively important, like the progressive spirit of John XXIII, that "most Christian" of popes as Walter Lippmann calls him, the election of the first Catholic President, the Ecumenical Council, and the startling development of interfaith dialogue in American life. But, significant as they were, they can not explain everything. What is happening, whatever it is, is the result of a maturation that has been going on for decades. The catholic (and authentically Catholic) impulse that had been curbed and checked and in one way or another frustrated for so long finally broke through the flood gates. At the present time it is pouring out in torrential fullness.

I chose 1960 as the year of change not only because the number is round but also because by the kind of pragmatic test I put it to, that date seems to work.

For example, in his day Senator Joseph R. McCarthy was firmly fixed in the American mind as the classic Catholic "type." Anyone in the Catholic community who opposed McCarthyism was vaguely suspect, both within and without the Church. Senator McCarthy died before the 1950's ended, but one can not imagine the movement he symbolized ever again getting such widespread support from American Catholics. Certainly if the Senator were still on the scene he would find followers, as the John Birch Society attracts its full quota

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of Catholics, but endorsing McCarthyism would not be considered the unquestionably "Catholic" thing to do. Catholics who refused to go along would not be generally considered odd-balls and mavericks.

Or, take the case of Paul Blanshard. For a full decade American Catholics were put on the defensive by the books of Mr. Blanshard—an exercise that did some good, insofar as it stimulated some searching thought on the relationship between democracy and Catholicism. Mr. Blanshard, for all I know, might yet bring out another volume in his interminable scare series, but it is almost a sure thing that, were he to do so, it would now be greeted with a big yawn. For, in the light of Catholic developments since 1960, Mr. Blanshard's crystal ball was so obviously cloudy that I can not believe he will ever again be taken with the same seriousness.

A third test might be applied to the recent affair of the four uninvited theologians at the Catholic University, as well as to the chilly official reception Father Hans Küng got in the Archdiocese of Los Angeles. It is almost a sure thing that before 1960 incidents of this kind would have been discreetly ignored in the diocesan press, though they would provide delicious hors-d'oeuvres for gossips to nibble on at Catholic gatherings. But now they are discussed openly and critically in many Catholic newspapers, and the embarrassment involved is felt not so much by the suppressed as by the suppressors. Those who try to explain away these cases of highhandedness find themselves sputtering justifications that in cold type came through as transparently disingenuous.

IN ONE of his lectures Father Küng said that freedom in the Church has to be won again and again. It is a right conferred by membership in the Church but the exercise of the right is not an automatic endowment. I find this idea neither shocking nor novel. In neither Church nor state has freedom ever been presented on a silver platter. It has to be sought by the few, who have a lonely road to walk while the seeking takes place, before it can be enjoyed by the many.

In this country the Catholic community was so tightly disciplined in order to insure freedom *for* the Church that until recently precious little attention was given to achieve freedom *within* the Church. It was considered almost disloyal for the laity (and perhaps the ordinary clergy, too) to talk about their rights and privileges as well as their duties. That line of thought, however, is no longer persuasive. More and more of the laity realize that they are not *in* the Church the way men are in the Army, as faceless names on a duty roster, but that, together with the clergy and religious, they *are* the Church, the way children together with their parents are a family.

To say this is not to minimize the role of authority in the Church, but to enhance its dignity. For ecclesiastical authority is not truly comparable to the power held by a general or an admiral requiring mindless obedience but to the authority of a father, which is personalist in its focus and persuasive in its method. A good father consults his children before reaching a decision. He tells them what he has decided, and why. What he seeks from them is better described as loving cooperation than as military discipline.

Until recently, though, most American Catholics thought of their relationship to ecclesiastical authority in military terms: The laity were regarded as front-line soldiers obeying an embattled commander. Orders were handed down and received in the West Point mode. There was a certain amount of off-duty grumbling but the authorities felt no obligation to take any public account of it. A linesman doesn't ask a general why he does this or that: his not to reason why, his but to do and die. Any questioning or hesitancy in the line is quickly spotted as incipient rebellion or desertion.

All this may have made a certain amount of sense when American Catholicism felt that it had to be on the defensive, when it was still burdened with its famous siege mentality. But the military era is now behind us, so to speak, and the familial era is here.

Of course, the change in the Church will not be a painless process. Not all of those who were trained in the former mode and have long had the habit of military command will find it easy to adjust, nor will many of those in the ranks who spent their lives habituating themselves to battleground obedience. When a decision is reached, like the refusal to invite the four theologians to Washington, many in both these groups will continue to feel that it is impertinent, and an aid to the "enemy," as well, to question its wisdom publicly. Open criticism will be taken as a sign of ill will and probably subversion. For them, it will cause serious anguish of spirit and worry to see the Church, which so recently appeared to be as tightly disciplined as a panzer corps, threatened with what they will take to be "anarchy."

The classic military response in such situations is to hold the reins of authority ever more tightly and to give no quarter to the demands of the supposed rebels. During this period of change in the Church, I think we can expect a certain amount of that among some unreconstructed old soldiers. It strikes me as a mistaken course to follow, based on a total misunderstanding of what has happened and a hopelessly erroneous reading of the times, but it is nonetheless easily predictable, because for all its virtues, and they are many, the military mind has never been long on imagination or strong in its ability to see the future. The generals are forever preparing to win the last war.

So, in some places, things will probably get worse before they can get better. Adjustment to what is being called the post-Counter Reformation period in the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Church will be hard on everyone: hard on some authorities who do not understand what has happened—their initial responses to change will be anachronistic, then confused, and only slowly comprehending; hard on the faithful who have always thought of their role in simple soldierly terms—they who have mistaken lassitude for loyalty, timidity for temperateness and conformity for conviction will think of themselves as a besieged little group of hold-outs in a garrison suddenly stricken with rebellion; and, finally, hard on the innovators—their faith and prudence and spirit of filial obedience will be tried by fire as the objections to them grow more absurdly unrealistic, the attempts to silence them become more panicky, and success in autocratically frustrating some of their efforts becomes frequent.

There is tragedy here, because all parties are intent on serving the best interests of the Church as they see them. The "progressive" wing, which was an underground much larger than the "conservative" leaders let themselves believe until the Council, knows now that it has many of the most competent theologians and a goodly share of bishops on its side; it also sees itself as responding to the Holy Father's appeal for *aggiornamento*. The "conservatives," who are characteristically fearful of the future because it is not here yet and suspicious of the present because it is, find their only security in the past, because it alone can never hurt you. They still identify the method they are used to as if it were handed down from Mount Sinai itself and see no evidence to change their minds. The adaptation of liturgy, canon law, ecclesiastical organization or discipline to the needs of the times still represents for them some kind of shameful capitulation to Modernity, which they habitually have thought of in upper-case terms, not so much as a time span but as a rival "religious" force.

Soon after World War II the Archbishop of Paris, Cardinal Suhard, wrote a pastoral whose influence reached out all over the Catholic world. It was called "Growth or Decline?" The Cardinal held that the coming years would represent a vital challenge to the life of Christianity and predicted that the question in his title would be the choice facing the Church the world over. There was in the Suhard pastoral the promise of one more spring, once the choice was clearly measured and made.

Its recurrent springtimes have always been rich seasons for the Church, as this one is. But there is pain, too. An era doesn't die gracefully, nor are new ones brought forth without suffering. In some places in the years ahead reformers are going to be misunderstood and thwarted again and again before their work is done. At the same time, some saintly old soldiers grown used to the unyielding conservatism of the battlefield, even as they bravely hurl their *Diktats* will be confused and hurt and feel cast aside, the more it seems to them their greatest victories are discounted and the arts of a new and dubious peace appear to be all that matter to an ungrateful generation. JOHN COGLEY

William V. O'Brien

The Fate of Counterforce

The aim of Secretary McNamara's strategy is to avoid the extreme of massive retaliation

IN HIS Ann Arbor address of June 16, 1962, Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara formally proclaimed an American "counterforce" strategy of nuclear deterrence. The United States, he said, would not attack civilian populations, even after a surprise attack, unless "driven" to do so by attacks on our civilians. Commentators ranging from advocates of unilateral disarmament to those who favor countercity deterrence as the most "stable" form were bound to consider the McNamara doctrine dangerous nonsense. To many the idea of limiting nuclear war is ridiculous. Yet it has been a recurring idea.

In 1957 Kissinger and others began to explore the possibilities for utilizing nuclear weapons against aggressors without going to the self-defeating extremes of total nuclear war. About the same time the concept of "graduated deterrence" was discussed but it never enjoyed the prominence achieved for a time by theories of limited nuclear war. More recently both theories were swept aside in the rush to achieve a theory of more or less perfect deterrence wherein no limited nuclear conflicts or nuclear graduations would be neces-

WILLIAM V. O'BRIEN is chairman of the Institute of World Polity at Georgetown University.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sary. It is interesting that by 1962 the Kennedy Administration, which has drawn heavily upon the talents of arms control experts, appeared to have adopted a theory of graduated deterrence.

Regardless of the technical feasibility of such a doctrine its adoption was significant. Like all defense theories of recent times it must be viewed in the light of the Dulles Massive Retaliation Doctrine. Whatever the real original or subsequent intentions of its author, the basic idea of the doctrine was that *any* serious aggression might meet a nuclear response. Given the technical characteristics of weapons and delivery systems in those days, the doctrine meant that Russian cities would feel the righteous wrath of the nuclear protector of the West in the event of a serious Soviet aggression.

No one was very comfortable with this doctrine, but until recently it really seemed to be the essence of our defense posture. However, the Kennedy Administration, which has made conspicuous efforts to improve our limited-war capabilities, had, by last June, obviously decided to make a serious effort to introduce the principles of control, flexibility and proportionality into the complex field of nuclear deterrence.

Thus the McNamara doctrine was one of "proportionate" rather than "massive" retaliation. It appeared to constitute a rejection of the extreme theory of deterrence based on the threat of countercity warfare. The latter idea, that of making war rationally impossible by making it so horrible as to be unthinkable, drew the fire of theologians from the outset. While its purpose of eliminating nuclear war was admirable, the means involved a credible willingness to attack civilian populations directly. As Professor Paul Ramsey of Princeton has explained it, this kind of deterrence is based on "counterpeople" war wherein there is no attempt to hide behind the principle of double effect. How does the McNamara doctrine fit into this debate over counterforce vs. counterpeople warfare?

TO ANSWER this it is useful to distinguish five types of attitudes towards attacks on civilian populations: (1) Civilians may be attacked directly if necessary; (2) Civilians may be attacked indirectly ("accidentally" in Just War terminology) in counterforce operations; (3) Civilians may be attacked indirectly, as in "old-fashioned" war, but use of modern weapons of mass destruction in populated areas constitutes direct attack on civilians and is immoral; (4) Civilians may only be attacked as a last resort, as retaliation in kind for attacks on one's own civilians; (5) Civilians may never be attacked directly, even in retaliation.

Mr. McNamara's position seems to be roughly in conformity with alternatives two and four. Although he believes that in the light of our "second strike" strength a nuclear first strike against us would not be a "rational act," he clearly rejected the concept of automatic retaliation against civilian populations in the event of a major nuclear surprise attack. He said:

> The United States has come to the conclusion that, to the extent feasible, basic military strategy in a possible general nuclear war should be approached in much the same way that more conventional military operations have been regarded in the past. That is to say, principal military objectives in the event of a nuclear war stemming from a major attack on the alliance, should be the destruction of the enemy's military forces, not of his civilian population.

Mr. McNamara underscored the element of graduated deterrence in his policy:

> The very strength and nature of the alliance force makes it possible for us to retain, even in the face of a massive surprise attack, sufficient reserve striking power to destroy an enemy society if driven to it. In other words, we are giving a possible opponent the strongest imaginable incentive to refrain from striking our own cities.

Certainly this series of propositions should have been enough to produce a "great debate" on morality and nuclear war far surpassing the discussions of limited nuclear war and the more recent doctrines of deterrence. Such a doctrine, formally proclaimed by perhaps the most powerful American Secretary of Defense, presumably should be taken very seriously. Yet the great debate has not been forthcoming.

What has happened to the McNamara counterforce doctrine? Why is it not more frequently discussed, defended or denounced by columnists, special study groups, recipients of foundation grants, ethicians and theologians? Why has the notoriety of such notions as "limited nuclear war," "deterrence," and "arms control" eluded "counterforce graduated deterrence?"

WHAT HAPPENED, of course, was that the extremely important sentences quoted above fell victim to some other important sentences which followed in Mr. McNamara's speech. In these he scored the inadequacy of "relatively weak national nuclear forces," which, when "operating independently, are dangerous, expensive, prone to obsolescence and lacking in credibility as a deterrence. . . . Clearly, the United States nuclear contribution to the alliance is neither obsolete nor dispensable." It was these passages which attracted most of the attention in Europe; little time was spent admiring Mr. McNamara's counterforce strategy.

The heart of the problem is this: The key to limitation of war is a high degree of rationality and control,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

both of which are hard to come by. Mr. McNamara felt that the "alliance" had enough power, in sufficiently varied forms, and enough control—primarily in the hands of the President of the United States—to make a policy of counterforce deterrence feasible. Any detraction from the twin elements of sufficient and flexible power and central control would tend to undermine the chances for a successful counterforce policy. On the other hand, the emergence of France as a minor nuclear power, the increased vulnerability of the United States to nuclear attack, the resultant tendency to distrust the credibility of U.S. assurances to fight a nuclear war for Europe, and, above all, the emergence of the "New Europe" as a cocky, prosperous complex of political and economic power, all threatened the American near-monopoly on Western nuclear defense policy on which the McNamara counterforce policy was based.

At best, the complex of problems implicit in the counterforce doctrine would have required elaborate study and discussion. But the problem of working out a counterforce strategy simultaneously with the resolution of the problem of fitting France, Western Europe and NATO into the established American-controlled system of Western nuclear defenses has proved to be not just difficult but impossible.

Shortly after Mr. McNamara's speech, columnists such as James Reston and C. L. Sulzberger were pointing out the ambitious nature of the attempt to set "ground rules for atomic war." They questioned the willingness of enemies to accept such rules, despite Mr. McNamara's argument that the proposed patterns of conduct would recommend themselves to rational men. There were also questions about the feasibility of the doctrine. If, as seems to be the case, *we* really have an invulnerable second strike capability which could impose unacceptable damage on a nuclear aggressor, would it not seem that counterforce warfare is exceedingly difficult, i.e., that it takes so much to "take out" or seriously cripple any major nuclear force that a war limited to counterforce strikes would not get very far?

MOREOVER what would happen to civilian populations, even if they were not the direct objects of attack? Would not fallout from counterforce strikes still wreak havoc among them? What about the problem of military targets in cities? These questions are not easily answered. Although we have a right to assume that Mr. McNamara had some answers we shall not try here to anticipate or evaluate them. For there was little interest, apparently, in learning his answers to such questions. Almost all reaction to the Ann Arbor speech was focused on the crisis in NATO where the United States was obliged to relent in its opposition to nuclear "proliferation." We have continued to attempt to preserve control of the West's nuclear deterrent by means of NATO, or even by collaboration with a European force.

But, critics pointed out, the problem of accomodating nuclear proliferation was forcing us into a policy contradictory to our counterforce doctrine. Indeed, by July 9, 1962, Mr. Sulzberger was saying that the counterforce strategy was "dead." At best, it was argued, it would seem that a great combination of destructive nuclear power and accuracy would be required to take out significant portions of an enemy's nuclear striking force. But neither the size of the warheads nor the accuracy to be expected from missiles fired from submarines would be ideal, or perhaps even minimally adequate, for a counterforce strategy, whereas the same Polaris deterrent force could serve very well as a retaliatory *countercity* weapon.

Meanwhile, on July 11, 1962, Premier Khrushchev had vehemently rejected Mr. McNamara's "monstrous" proposal on "rules of conducting a nuclear war." Following familiar Soviet lines, he insisted that the problem was not the limiting of nuclear war but "how to eliminate the very possibility of nuclear war."

Nevertheless, even after Cuba, in an interview in the *Saturday Evening Post* with Stewart Alsop, Mr. McNamara reiterated the Administration's emphasis upon "controlled" responses to aggression and quite frankly discussed the requirements imposed upon our civil defense effort by a second-strike counterforce policy. Again, in his testimony before Congress, made public in January 1963, Mr. McNamara appeared to be standing by the invulnerable second strike, counterforce retaliatory doctrine and capability which characterized the American nuclear posture.

At Nassau the problem was control of the deterrent, not counterforce strategy. Then at a January press conference, De Gaulle asserted the feasibility of independent national deterrents and emphasized that such deterrents need not be very strong or sophisticated, just strong enough to "kill in several instants millions of people." Re-enter indiscriminatory massive retaliation —and in a particularly primitive form! It is difficult to see how this concept, even if expanded to an "independent" supranational European deterrent, could fail to be a "spasm" weapon of the kind which Mr. McNamara has been trying desperately to replace with controlled, proportionate weapons.

Over the years many things have been claimed to be essential prerequisites of "sovereignty" or "independence." Is the capacity to destroy millions of civilians in several instants to be insisted upon now, by sovereign independent states, perhaps Chad as well as France (for *where* does "grandeur" end?)? Meanwhile, has anyone time and wit to pursue the difficult lines of elaboration to which the McNamara doctrine challenges us? Or must we continue to devote most of our efforts to political and psychological palliatives and to estimates on the number of national contingents that can reasonably be placed aboard the same Polaris submarine?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Catholics and Isolationism

I DON'T know when I've enjoyed anything more than reading about Pope John's "Peace on Earth" in the pages of the traditionally isolationist Brooklyn *Tablet*. Life does have its compensations, if only one can wait long enough.

Of course, it is too early to tell how much the new encyclical will affect the stubborn, old-line isolationists in our midst. In its editorial on the subject, for example, the *Tablet* seemed more concerned lest the encyclical be "misunderstood" in too radical a sense than it was in saying what "Peace on Earth" came out for. But I'm inclined to think that history has moved too fast for the America-Firsters; isolationism has become a luxury we cannot afford.

There was no real reason for Catholic isolationists to be surprised at the supranational characteristics of Pope John's letter on peace. There were many new departures in the new encyclical, but the supranational note was not one of them. Indeed, it would be hard to find any theme which has more consistently characterized modern papal thought.

Catholic emphasis has always been strong on the conception of the oneness of the human family. For all its failures and faults, the medieval concept of Christendom reflected this attitude. The rise of the nation state and the exaltation of national sovereignty were therefore regarded with suspicion by Catholic thinkers Thus Pope Pius XII wrote: "The Catholic doctrine on the State and civil society has always been based on the principle that, in keeping with the will of God, the nations form together a community with a common aim and common duties."

Many things incline Catholics toward suspicion of any artificial barriers between men. There is, preeminently, the universality of the Church itself, which knows neither race nor nationality and views all men as brothers under the Fatherhood of God. A Catholic by profession subscribes to the law of love; it cannot be a matter of indifference to him that millions in other parts of the world regularly do not get enough to eat.

The major thrust in Catholic social thought reflects this fact. It is opposed always to division, to *laissez faire*, to anarchy. It inclines always toward solidarity, in family life, in industrial relations, in the international order.

Thus, in making statements on international affairs, the popes have always spoken against a spirit of national isolationism and selfishness. The teaching authority of the modern papacy has been strongly exercised on behalf of the organization of nations into one body and the creation of an international juridical order which would permit collective action against unjust aggressors. Furthermore, papal thought on world peace has always been intensely realistic. The popes have stressed the role of justice in creating peace, and they have emphasized over and over again the necessity of achieving social justice if genuine peace is to be created. It is in this context that one must view repeated papal pleas that have-not nations be permitted to have access to raw materials and markets and that citizens of overpopulated countries be allowed to enter the less crowded areas of the world.

Despite all this, there is no denying that too many American Catholics—and American Catholic publications—behaved as if they had never heard the papal arguments. In theory they might grant that Catholic thought inclined one toward some form of international organization, some recognition of the family of nations; in practice, they sniped constantly at the United Nations and at American participation in the international organization.

The American Catholic isolationist was always torn in two directions. On the one hand he was inclined to echo the outcries of any and every shrill nationalist, urging withdrawal from "foreign entanglements," an end to "global boondoggling" and lower taxes all around. On the other hand, the Catholic isolationist was not neutral; but although he made moral judgments, he tried to make these moral judgments do the work of practical policy decisions. He would be vociferous in denunciations of Communist China and vehement in his support of Chiang Kai-shek on Formosa; almost never would he have any realistic idea of what an invasion of China would demand in the way of men, ships and planes, and never never would he urge the tough tax policy that would have been necessary to carry out such an attack on the mainland of China.

This makes the Catholic isolationist sound illogical, and I think this judgment is quite correct. The isolationist's religion inclined him one way; something else, perhaps only his native temperament, inclined him another way, and he never succeeded in reconciling the two views.

Happily, the isolationist has less and less influence in Catholic life, and I suspect he will have even less in the days ahead. I don't think this is primarily because more and more Catholics are reading papal documents and becoming persuaded by their wisdom, but because events have made isolationism increasingly impossible. For better or for worse, the hydrogen bomb has made isolationism an impossibility as national policy. To all but the real die-hards, it must now be obvious that the popes were right all along: isolationism is both politically and morally impossible. JAMES O'GARA

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

STEPHANIE GERVIS

Gray Spring in Hazard

A strange and confusing strike

"WE DON'T have a strike in this community and haven't had one. There hasn't been a strike here since 1959, and there's no strike in progress now," said the president of the Hazard, Kentucky, chamber of commerce to a group of visiting journalists.

The journalists, like many others in the last six months, had made the trip from New York to Hazard, the county seat of Perry County, to get first hand the story of the labor unrest there—the official strike and the wildcat picketing—that has been keeping the southeastern Kentucky mining town in the news since last October, a situation so desperate and so volatile that it has broken into every branch of the mass media. The Hazard strikes have been reported on radio, on television, in the New York *Times*, and in various liberal publications. But, like the opposite number of the people who saw the emperor's new clothes, the president of the Hazard chamber of commerce hasn't seen a thing.

And it is possible to shut one's eyes to it. The chronic unemployment, the grinding poverty, the kids who stay home from school because they have no shoes are all hidden away in the hills. The roving pickets with guns on their hips, the scabs, the state police are also outside the city, at the scores of "dog hole" mines that pockmark the countryside.

Southeastern Kentucky is a soft coal region. There is plenty of coal in its hills and during World War II there was plenty of demand for coal. Small truck mines—so called because they were not near rail sidings and their coal was loaded into trucks rather than directly into boxcars—began springing up beside the established rail mines. In those days of wartime demand there was room for everybody. After the war, in 1948, the United Mine Workers negotiated a new contract with the soft coal industry, the National Bituminous Coal Agreement. The new agreement provided for a $24.25 per day minimum wage and a royalty on every ton of coal mined to be paid by the operators into the UMW Welfare Fund. The truck mines, as well as the rail mines, were covered by the 1948 contract.

By the 1950's the coal industry found itself running full speed ahead to keep in the same place. Its competitive position in relation to other energy industries was not good. Mine operators began to complain that it was impossible to abide by the 1948 agreement and still show a profit. They started chipping away at wages and at welfare payments, which had risen to forty cents a ton. Finally, in an attempt to get out from under the contract altogether, the operators of both the rail mines and the truck mines, which had grown into sizable operations, began closing down and leasing their facilities to small-scale truck miners who were not parties to the 1948 agreement. Wages plummeted and royalty payments just about ceased.

In 1959 the UMW called an organizing strike against the non-union mines and the remaining union truck mines that were holding back on welfare royalties. The strike was a disaster. After seven months of violence, lawsuits, and jailings of strike leaders, it was broken. By 1959 wages, which had already dropped from $24.25 to between $14 and $18 a day, had plunged as low as $4 a day. The men who were not laid off, however, kept working. There were no other jobs around, and they had families to keep alive. By 1962 wages were down to a minimum of $3 a day. Still $3 was better than nothing.

But as the summer of 1962 faded into fall, the miners were confronted with a threat that to them was less than nothing. Through all their trials, and despite the mine operators' withholding of royalties, they had their pensions, though they had been cut from $100 to $75 a month, and they had their hospitals. Mining is fraught with occupational hazards—mine accidents, cave-ins, and silicosis, known in the hills as "miners' asthma." The UMW had built ten hospitals in Southeastern Kentucky during the fifties, and these hospitals were not only the pride and joy of the miners, they were often the difference between life and death. When miners' children had to go to the hospital for some routine treatment, their parents would often be deliberately late in calling for them because they knew that that was the only place, outside of school, where they could get a hot meal—and at school, lunch costs twenty-five cents. And to the Hazard miners, who remain militantly loyal union men, despite the failure of the UMW to give them leadership in their present struggle, their hospital has served as a symbol, an assurance that their union is still there with them.

But at the end of last summer, they were faced with the closing of four hospitals and, for those of them who

STEPHANIE GERVIS, a previous contributor to The Commonweal and other American journals, covers United Nations affairs for the *Village Voice*.

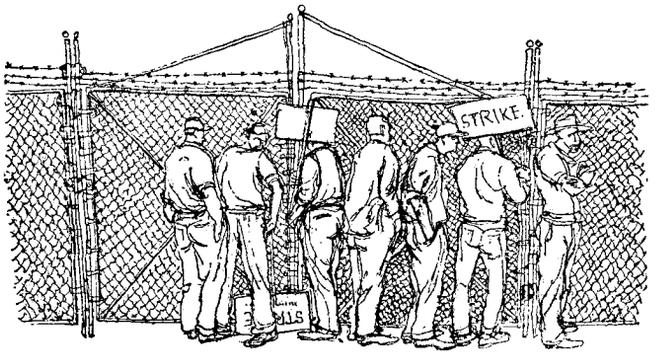
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

were working at or had been laid off or retired from mines that were delinquent in their royalty payments, an end to welfare. These men received notice in August and September that they were being taken off the Welfare Fund lists and that they had to turn in their hospital cards. In October, 1962, the strike began.

It has been a strange sort of strike. Its main impetus came from miners who weren't even in the pits—the pensioners who would be left with nothing, the men who were laid off from delinquent mines, some of whom couldn't even collect unemployment insurance because the operators had chiseled on that, too. The roving pickets, who have been hitting different "dog hole" mines each day, are led by a hulking laid-off miner turned milk-truck driver named Berman Gibson. Before the snow hit the region they had succeeded in persuading many of the working miners to come out with them. "You might as well starve outside the mine as inside," they told them. And even those miners who didn't join them wouldn't cross their lines, so they could at least shut down a mine for as long as they chose to picket it. In many cases, however, the mine operators have brought in men from the Southern Labor Union (a company union, say the strikers) who, under the protection of state police, do cross the picket lines.

The UMW has disclaimed all but one shut-down as wildcat operations. The one official strike is at a big rail mine formerly owned by the Blue Diamond Coal Company, which is bound by the 1948 UMW contract and which is still living up to that contract at its one officially remaining mine—the only operation paying union scale out of the forty mines in Perry County. The struck mine was sold by Blue Diamond to the Blair Fork Coal Company, which promptly filed a sixty-day notice of termination of contract. Taking a no-contract-no-work position, the UMW called its men out. For a while the strikers also shut down Blue Diamond's union mine, persuading their brothers that by working for a company that, as they suspect, still controls the Blair Fork Mine, they were scabbing. Fearing secondary boycott action, however, the UMW sent the Blue Diamond men back to work.

Most of the wildcat picketing also petered out as the snow piled up and the floods hit. The violence, the sniping at pickets who go armed to return the compliment, the dynamiting of miners' homes have also quieted down. But not for long. When spring comes, so, many expected, would the showdown. The miners feel that if they can only get massive support, food and clothes and money for legal expenses, they can have an organized, solid, and successful strike. If they can't they will lose their hospital, which is scheduled to close in June, their pensions, and their hope. The UMW, caught between the needs of its own men and the problems of management in a shrinking industry, seems paralyzed by the challenge. The leaders are waiting to be led. "The more militant they (the rank and file) become . . . the more progress we'll make as a union," C. E. Beane, president of the UMW's District 30 (which takes in southeastern Kentucky) told observers from the North.



If the strike fails, the UMW may find itself in double trouble. It is currently being sued for ten million dollars by hard coal miners in Pennsylvania for delinquent welfare and pension payments. Anthracite coal operators have also been holding back on welfare royalties, and the Pennsylvania miners are suing their own union for failing to enforce the terms of the hard coal industry contract. If the suit of the anthracite miners is successful, it could set a precedent for the soft coal miners of the Appalachians—a worrisome prospect for the law-suit-ridden UMW, a prospect that might even imbue it once again with a militant determination to win the struggle in the southern coal fields.

But the struggle is limited, and the basic problem is far-reaching. Southeastern Kentucky is a chronically depressed area. It is a one-industry region, and that industry is sick. The market for coal is declining even as automated production is showing prospects for modest increases. But even slight production rises are deceptive, since coal is still in a competitively unfavorable position in relation to other fuels. Rising residual oil imports threaten to displace ten per cent of current coal production. The price of soft coal per ton has dropped from $7 to $4 since the war. And even if a remnant of the soft coal industry in southeastern Kentucky is able to survive on a long-term basis, it will only be able to do so by cutting employment. Between 1950 and 1962 employment in the soft coal industry dropped from 400,000 to 185,000.

Relief is not the answer. Of Perry County's 36,000 inhabitants, 14,000 are already eligible for the federal government's surplus commodities food program, which provides doles of flour, meal, powdered milk, canned meat, cheese, and rice. But "to be idle and to live permanently on doles is unhealthy and destructive for anybody," Gunnar Myrdal told a New York gathering recently.

"The solution to the fundamental problems of the Hazard miners lies in the provision of broad scale industrial development and diversification in eastern Ken-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tucky, involving the massive use of federal funds, trained economists, technicians and teachers," says Stanley Aronowitz, an official of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, who recently returned from a fact-finding trip to Hazard. "Eastern Kentucky needs an economic plan. This plan should include an intensive survey of existing resources in terms of manpower, community facilities, and 'social capital,' such as schools and hospitals. After community needs in these areas have been determined, the first job of the government should be to build the facilities basic to the education and health of the community . . . Next, the government should make special efforts to bring industry into the area or help to develop those community facilities such as power and adequate water supply which are necessary preconditions for such industry. Finally, the kind of industries contemplated should be geared to the feasible retraining of the miners."

In Hazard, local initiative so far has consisted of some talk about coal by-products, a timber industry, and a model coal mine to attract tourists. The only project in the actual planning stage is a motel, "Magic Mountain," which, the chamber of commerce president says proudly, will be able to accommodate forty guests. And spring in the Appalachians is so lovely, says his wife, they are sure to get at least that many tourists when "Magic Mountain" opens for business. But it will take more than magic to cure the ills of Hazard.

ILLTUD EVANS

After Four Hundred Years

England's ecumenical awakening

AT A GATHERING last year of Continental and English theologians, Catholic and Protestant, mention was made of "the Forty English Martyrs." "Who were they?" asked a distinguished Dutch priest. He had never heard of them, or, if he had, he thought them irrelevant to an ecumenical discussion. In the English context they are far from irrelevant, for their cause of canonization, now being actively promoted, reflects a history which inevitably colors the English Catholic approach to unity.

These forty men, priests and laymen alike, represent a much larger army of martyrs who gave their lives in defense of the Catholic faith from the time of Henry VIII's initial act of rebellion against Rome to the close of the seventeenth century when active religious persecution came to an end. The objection that theirs is an ancient history best forgotten in today's irenic climate ignores the enduring effect of the past. Memory is not at all the least important element in the ecumenical equation.

At first sight England might seem a particularly favorable setting for Christian reconciliation. The Church of England, strategically placed by reason of its history between Rome and Geneva, usually describing itself as both Catholic and Reformed, provides indeed a spectrum of religious belief and practice which reconciles a sense of hierarchical order with a spirit of free enquiry, a respect for tradition with a love of adaptation. But it is an established Church, to which the Sovereign must subscribe and whose bishops are members of the House of Lords. The role of the Church of England, however diminished in terms of popular support, remains nationally important. And the influence of the Archbishop of Canterbury extends to many countries where English enterprise led to the introduction of Anglicanism. Recently the archbishops have taken a decisive part in the World Council of Churches and in the whole Ecumenical Movement.

"The conversion of England," for which prayers are offered at Benediction in every Catholic church in England, has meant in practice simply the conversion of individuals—and some twelve thousand converts a year are received. In effect, religious contacts in any shared sense have been non-existent. In no country have the prohibitions against religious cooperation with non-Catholics been so rigorously observed. And even such a generous initiative as Cardinal Hinsley's "Sword of the Spirit" movement, founded to encourage joint action among Christians in the field of social and international justice, fell into the expected difficulties after his death and became a purely Catholic organization with much narrower aims. It is probably true to say that the hierarchy's attitude reflected the mood of the faithful, largely of Irish descent, who had grown used to the isolation of Catholics from the national religious life.

Archbishop Heenan, who is president of the English Hierarchy's committee for Christian Unity, has pointed out how difficult is the transfer from the old suspicious attitudes to the new candor so commended by Pope John. Foreign observers of the English Catholic scene

---

FATHER ILLTUD EVANS, O.P., a previous contributor, has written for a number of English periodicals. He is former editor of the English Dominican monthly *Blackfriars*.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

are quick to notice the evidence of conservatism—in the allied liturgical and biblical revivals as well as in the ecumenical movement itself. And if one insists on the force of history in determining a religious response it is only to indicate how long and patient the process of education must inevitably be.

England, in fact, has never lacked theologians who have tried to free Catholics from the inhibiting effects of a controversial apologetic. More than forty years ago, Father Vincent McNabb, O.P., writing of the Lambeth Conference of 1920, looked forward to the day when the Pope might welcome an archbishop of Canterbury in a gesture of charity which would be a pledge of future reconciliation. It seemed an impossible hope, then, but it has happened. In his writings over the years, Father Henry St. John, O.P., has urged a truly ecumenical theology which would liberate Catholics and their separated brethren alike from the mentality of combatants. Long before such gatherings became usual, theological discussions between Catholics and non-Catholics were arranged annually by Father St. John, with the meetings being held alternately at a Dominican priory and at the mother house of the (Anglican) Community of the Resurrection. The improved relations between Christians at an informed theological level owe a great deal to such gatherings and to such participants in them as the Abbot of Downside (Dom Christopher Butler, himself a distinguished biblical scholar) and Msgr. Francis Davis (the vice-postulator for the cause of beatification of Cardinal Newman and a pioneer in teaching theology in non-Catholic universities).

The change in the ecumenical climate that followed Pope John's calling of the Council found English Catholics largely unprepared, but the earlier informal contacts—especially among scholars—soon bore fruit. In the course of 1962 at least four important ecumenical gatherings were held in England, the most significant perhaps being the Heythrop Conference called by the English Hierarchy's Christian Unity Committee. This gathering was confined to priests representing Catholic dioceses and religious orders, and was concerned with the primary work of educating the clergy themselves in an irenic theology.

Cardinal Bea, paying his first visit to England, presided, and with his customary grace and understanding he emphasized the special responsibilities of Catholics in England. Papers by Msgr. Gordon Wheeler on the Church of England and by Father Henry St. John on the aims of an ecumenical theology were supplemented by studies of the World Council of Churches by Father Jerome Hamer, O.P., and Father Bernard Leeming, S.J. Father Maurice Bévenot, S.J., dealt with the history of *communicatio in sacris,* the prohibition of prayer in common among Christians which has always created irritations and misunderstandings in England. The publication of the proceedings of the Heythrop Conference is a milestone in the history of Catholic ecumenical work in England, for it provides the candid evidence of a new determination to exchange polemics for understanding and the pursuit of truth through charity.

Three other gatherings brought together Catholic and other Christian theologians for the discussion of specific themes, perhaps the most significant being the Mirfield conference on the apostolic constitution of the Church. In each case continental theologians were present, and here one notes the value of such exchanges in terms of international understanding as well as in their primary religious context. The unhappy story of England and the Common Market has a certain religious analogy, for too often English Catholics have regarded their continental brethren with some reserve, convinced that the latter cannot really understand the complexities of the English religious situation.

Memories of the Malines Conversations of forty years ago, when Anglicans met Belgian Catholic theologians to discuss what was in those days called "reunion," have continued to affect English Catholic opinion. Even more recently the enthusiasm of many Anglicans for such things as the French liturgical revival, and on the other side the friendly contacts between continental Catholic scholars and Anglican theologians, have sometimes bewildered English Catholics, accustomed as they have been for so long to living in a state of siege.

AT THE MORE popular level, too, contacts have multiplied, and the lead given by Pope John in welcoming Archbishop Fisher and the Moderator of the Church of Scotland has inspired many local attempts to improve relations between Christians. The universal regard for the person of the Pope has been a most important factor. Again and again one finds, in addressing meetings of Anglicans or Free Churchmen, that their good will has been secured in advance through the love—and it is not too strong a word—they feel for the Holy Father. But it would be unrealistic to attribute too much weight to such gatherings in terms of actually forwarding unity. What is happening—and that is a great deal—is the creation of an entirely new climate, and for Catholics and non-Catholics alike that means a dramatic break with the attitudes of the past.

But the implications of a true ecumenism extend beyond the boundaries of theological debate. The present Archbishop of Canterbury, in a notable interview in *The Catholic Herald,* suggested that much could be done immediately to commend Christianity through a united defense of basic religious and moral beliefs. And in England the opportunities for active cooperation in the field of social justice are innumerable and at hand. It can be truthfully said that many features of the "welfare state" have profoundly Christian implications, but they can be easily lost in a sea of bureaucratic controls. Charity is not indeed a substitute for justice, but its

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

role is more—not less—important in the complex pattern of a society which can seem to reduce the person to a unit of administration. Cooperation between Christians cannot await dogmatic agreement between Christians. And it may well be that a common sense of urgency in the face of the threats to Christian values in our society may lead to the realization that dogmatic differences do not exist in a vacuum but as a tragic factor in a very real situation.

In his recent encyclical on the Ecumenical Council, Pope John insisted that "to be faithful and to remain faithful to the integrity of Catholic doctrine . . . is certainly a great grace and a title of merit and honor. But this is not enough to fulfill the precept of the Lord." His words have a special appropriateness in England, where history has led the Church to devote so much energy to affirming her own claims. That history cannot be forgotten, nor can its consequences be set aside. But a new era has opened, and the English response to its demands may at the moment seem slow and hesitant.

Fortunately there are many signs that the process of ecumenical understanding is beginning to grow. It demands above all, however, the genuine conviction of the clergy that this is not merely a tactical change but a radical expression of the Church's mission today. That is why no amount of cheerful generalization can be a substitute for informed and detailed understanding. There can be no doubt that the laity is ready to follow the clergy's lead (a lead which is still too rare, uncertain, or theologically unprepared). And so, of last year's ecumenical occasions in England, the Heythrop Conference reflected the right order of proceeding, namely, first of all through the education of the clergy themselves in the true meaning of the ecumenical apostolate. For an apostolate it is, making the same demands of Catholics as did their fidelity long ago and serving the same end—the advancement of Christ's kingdom among men.

Denim

Blue is the prairie color.

Not the blue of sky
nor blue of sky reflected
in what little water there is.

It is the blue of denim,
faded or new,
sweat stained or greyed by wear,
stamped with manure or wind-driven dust.

Shaped to the lean bodies
of those who always wear
this prairie blue.

J. F. KITTLESON

THE STAGE

Nowhere to Go But Down

THE MUSICAL comedy, Broadway's central *jeu d'esprit*, has been in slow decline for a number of years, but this season we have witnessed a really spectacular plunge towards the bottom. Up to now there has always been something or other to settle on a ledge of verve and/or wit and thereby afford us an illusion of stabilization if not of ascent, but this year there has been nothing remotely resembling "West Side Story" or "How to Succeed in Business" or "A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum." The latter, incidentally, is being honored right now as the "best musical of 1963," but this is only by a fiction that exposes the current abyss in all its yawning emptiness, since the Zero Mostel epic opened over a year ago.

"Mr. President," "Little Me" and "Oliver" were the season's first blanknesses, and they have been followed by a triad which displays even greater ineptitude and richer non-existence—"Tovarich," "Hot Spot" and "She Loves Me." (It is fortunate, for the symmetry of this review, that I somehow escaped seeing "Sophie," which apparently lacked even the minimum requirements for taking a shot at the gullible and undiscriminating.) There is among all these musicals nothing nearly so actively obnoxious as Richard Rodgers' "No Strings," but one almost finds oneself getting nostalgic for rank cheese when the alternative seems to be oleomargarine.

"Tovarich," to take up these non-works in the order of their arrival, is a musical remake of the thirties' play by Jacques Deval (Robert Sherwood did the English adaptation) about a group of Russian émigrés in Paris after the Revolution. It stars Vivien Leigh and Jean-Pierre Aumont as a noblewoman and an ex-Tsarist general who are forced by their circumstances to work as servants in the household of a wealthy American family. A Soviet commissar arrives to try to pry loose from them a fortune in francs which the imperial government entrusted to them before they fled and which they have stashed away in Switzerland against the day of royalist return. Whether he will succeed constitutes the show's suspense and chief narrative line.

Its entertainment values consist in a great deal of tschotchkying, fiddle playing, vodka toasting and Order-of-Alexander-Nevsky wearing, and especially in the spectacle of Miss Leigh doing various robust and unladylike dances and being flung aloft by muscular moujihks. She has a pert new gamin hair-do and has obviously been taught to manage a song, if not to sing, but I for one found the sight of her in such debasing surroundings, where unoriginality, coy sentiment and flat dull musical procedures flourish like steppe-grass, and above all her earnest efforts to pull the thing off,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

exceedingly depressing. It was rather like seeing Eleanor Roosevelt starring at the Peppermint Lounge or Joan Sutherland in "Bye Bye, Birdie"; lost of versatility on view but the image takes a fearful battering. *(At the Broadway)*

"SHE LOVES ME" is also a remake, this time of a play by a Hungarian named Miklos Laszlo. I remember having seen it as a boy when it was a motion picture called "The Shop Around the Corner," and allowing for the extravagances of youth and the deceptiveness of recollection, I believe it was a whole lot better then. At least Margaret Sullavan was considerably more appealing than Barbara Cook and Jimmy Stewart than Daniel Massey (who looks amazingly like his father, Raymond and is, I'm afraid, learning how to act like him). The movie was also graced by that wonderful old character actor, Felix Bressart, whose persona was built upon a receding chin, an advancing moustache and eyes which invited the world's follies and amusements to swim contentedly around in their depths.

The plot unfolds in a perfume shop in gay old Budapest and chiefly centers on a young man and woman who have been conducting a romance by mail without knowing one another's identity. They eventually make the discovery, of course, but meanwhile a lot of mileage is generated by their ignorance. I should say a lot of mileage is supposed to be generated, because in point of fact the show is almost entirely without movement, one dainty situation succeeding another, one extraordinarily tuneless musical number following its predecessor, with only a single humorous episode of any consequence being permitted to break up the bland, marzipanned surface. Barbara Baxley does give a fairly pleasant performance in a minor role, and the sets, one has to admit, are extremely likable; I only wish something had been permitted to happen on them. *(At the Eugene O'Neill)*

AS FOR "Hot Spot," one can only say that it is the perfect theatrical equivalent of the non-book. It was certainly a plausible notion to base a musical comedy on the Peace Corps, but Jack Weinstock and Willie Gilbert, who wrote the book, and Mary Rodgers and Martin Chanin, who were responsible for the music and lyrics, have systematically ignored or perverted every possibility that the subject offers. Indeed there is something preternaturally skillful about their avoidance of humor, grace, melodiousness, elegance, vivacity, wit, robustness, splendor, irony, charm, passion, color, or anything else that the musical comedy relies on for its existence as a genre. I am an admirer of Judy Holliday, but far from being able to breathe life into "Hot Spot," she is nearly asphixiated by her environment and her struggles for air are not pleasant to watch. *(At the Majestic)* RICHARD GILMAN

THE SCREEN

God's Silence

IN HER excellent article on Ingmar Bergman in The Commonweal of March 11, 1960, Arlene Croce referred to him as "the hottest director on the international scene today." For me, some three years and several films later, Bergman is still the hottest director around—although he has had considerable competition from Fellini, Antonioni, and Kurosawa. But remembering how many of the literary critics were annoyed with Evelyn Waugh when he turned religious in *Brideshead Revisited,* and noticing how some of the movie critics cooled off when Bergman stressed religious themes in "The Virgin Spring" (1960) and "Through a Glass Darkly" (1962), I wonder if reviewers will warm up at all to the newest Bergman opus, "Winter Light," which concentrates on religion and openly declares itself in a strong affirmative voice.

Actually, religion, in one way or the other, has been the theme of most of Bergman's serious movies. Man's relation to God was displayed in "The Seventh Seal" (1958) with a great deal of questioning, in "Wild Strawberries" (1959) with the conclusion that love is knowledge, in "The Magician" (1959—these dates indicate when the film opened in the United States) with the proposition that truth is often elusive and sometimes so disguised as to be deceptive. Bergman, the son of a Lutheran minister, is drawn to things religious and is also repelled by them; and most of his films, which are written and directed by him, portray his conflicts. Consequently they are personal, as are the pictures of most great film makers, as, for that matter, are the works of most great artists.

In his recent pictures, Bergman has spoken more openly on the man-God relationship. "The Virgin Spring," a kind of medieval morality tale, concludes, after a terrifying story of rape and murder, with a miracle: a spring gushes forth where the young girl's body was found. "Through a Glass Darkly," after a fascinating modern story about a father's, brother's, and husband's reactions to their beloved Karin's complete mental breakdown, has an up-beat ending with a new and healthy father-son relationship and the father's saying, "We cannot know whether love proves the existence of God, or whether love itself is God." And Bergman's new film, "Winter Light," telling a story of a clergyman's suffering the tormenting silence of God, concludes with the clergyman's conducting an evening service in an almost-empty church: "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord Almighty."

"Winter Light" starts with this pastor at a morning Communion service. The visuals and sound track blend beautifully as he says the Lord's Prayer and the words

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the consecration; and the camera shows us the altar with its stunning old crucifix, the pastor himself, the small congregation, the stark Swedish church, and the wintry scene outside it. The communicants come to the altar, receive first the host, then the wine—then return to their seats. But they are a rather cheerless lot: a fisherman and his wife (Max von Sydow and Gunnel Lindblom), a school teacher (Ingrid Thulin), the church sexton, a widow. After the service, we learn that the pastor has a bad cold and is going through a period of great unhappiness. He feels cut off, lost. He is no longer in communion with God, and he is tortured by God's silence, a condition of dryness—no doubt the aridity which St. Teresa of Avila suffered. (One wonders at this point why he doesn't take a leave, go on a retreat, work out his problems away from his flock.)

In any case, the fisherman comes to him for help. The disturbed man is going through a great depression brought on ostensibly by worrying about the atom bomb and the Chinese irresponsibility toward the rest of the world now that they too have a bomb. The pastor tries to help the man, even tells him he must believe even though God may seem to be a monster, a spider. (This is a reference to Bergman's earlier film in which Karin saw God as a spider.) But the pastor fails to help the confused fisherman. And then the pastor fails the school teacher who is in love with him. Still mourning his dead wife, still concerned with his own problem of God's silence, the pastor cannot help her. His ability to love has dried up with faith and hope.

The fisherman commits suicide. The pastor and teacher go to inform his wife—in another cheerless scene. The pastor cruelly berates the teacher for her self-interest, for her petty demands; and then he goes to conduct the evening service in another town. There the church sexton, after fussing about many little details in the church, the candles, the bells, etc., comes to the point of the argument. He suggests that the physical part of Christ's last agony wasn't so bad, but that He really suffered when He thought he was deserted: "My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me?" The sexton's well-made point stirs the pastor—and he finds himself at the altar, considering Christ-the-man's difficult discouragements. In the near-empty church, the pastor starts his service: "Holy, holy, holy."

Beautifully photographed in black-and-white wintry light by Sven Nykvist, this new Ingmar Bergman is one of the most moving films I have ever seen. Like most of Bergman's pictures it is expertly acted throughout; and Gunnar Bjornstrand as the pastor is superb. Although somewhat static at times for a movie, "Winter Light" is active as an interior dialogue. And its total effect is shattering. Man must continue his faith even through arid periods. God is love. Faith and hope follow love.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG

Youth Dreams Of The Future:

Carmel Dreads It!

Sixteen, pretty and a leper, for her the pitiable condition of the older patients is a fearful dream of her own future.

But Carmel need not be mutilated by leprosy. A new wonder drug arrests the disease completely.

Please help missionaries bring hope and Christ's Mercy to the leprous with this drug.

A DOLLAR'S W0RTH WILL ARREST A CASE LIKE CARMEL'S.

Send any offering you can, to

Catholic Medical Mission Board

Dept. C 8 West 17th St. New York 11, N.Y.

CORRESPONDENCE

Dean Rusk

Washington, D.C.

TO THE EDITORS: I always enjoy Mr. Shannon's writings, even when he lets assumption take the place of fact. The pleasure was somewhat mitigated in the case of his article in the March 29 issue of Commonweal when I read that I have difficulty persuading the Secretary of State to confide in me. This is so opposite from the truth that I am moved to enter a correction. Mr. Shannon is utterly wrong.

ROBERT MANNING
Assistant Secretary of State

The Author Replies

Washington, D.C.

TO THE EDITORS: It is a delicate matter to describe the exact nature of a confidential relationship. It is almost as difficult as describing the emotional texture of a marriage; obviously, the two participants are the only real authorities. I do not wish to enlarge my disagreement with Mr. Manning for whom I have high regard. But I stand on my original statement. Secretary Rusk is not a communicative or confiding person.

WILLIAM V. SHANNON

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Dissenting View of the U.N.'s Congo Policy

To Katanga and Back. By Conor Cruise O'Brien. Simon and Schuster. $5.95.

by C. K. Yearley

A MEMBER of the late Dag Hammarskjöld's staff, Conor Cruise O'Brien, the Irish historian and diplomat, served as United Nations representative to the Congo's secessionist Katanga province from June to December 1961. He was charged with implementing an earlier UN resolution requiring withdrawal of all foreign mercenaries and political advisors from that troubled province—a task which, once accomplished, would almost certainly have smoothed the way toward reunification with the UN-supported Central Congolese Government.

After six months of frustrating negotiations, however, in what was often a hostile and at best an uncongenial environment, Mr. O'Brien found his efforts fatally interdicted, the moral position of the UN undermined, and the military situation deteriorating. In addition, pressures from several quarters were mounted against him, pressures which resulted in his having to leave his post, and eventually the UN.

That might have ended the matter. As another expendable diplomat, Mr. O'Brien might have retired philosophically to the writing of history or to the solution of Irish diplomatic conundrums. But he apparently is not the sort who passively allows organizational exigencies to send him clinking across the boards like a spent cartridge. On the contrary, he promptly severed his official connections, the better, he says, to recover his freedom of speech and action. Risking professional opprobrium for defiance of a UN rule binding him as a former servant to silence or censorship, he eschewed the caution and judiciousness ascribed to men of his calling in order to marshal his case. Published several months ago in England, his book has provoked sharp reactions. A number of his erstwhile colleagues have branded him as thoroughly tendentious and are probably happy to see him mired in his own judgment that he is at times "a bit of a blurter."

At times, perhaps. But to dismiss him on such grounds would be unjust. Mr. O'Brien, if only briefly, was a central figure in an important and still unresolved international episode involving, among other things, a critical UN experiment. He is an experienced observer, intelligent and appropriately self-critical. He seems a perceptive and sensitive man.

Moreover, despite his harsh candor about it, he insists he remains a friend of the UN. Indeed, he believes the strength of the organization rests on its friends' appreciation of the influences which actually condition the evolution of its policies. Not unnaturally, at present, he evinces a healthier respect for UN principles than he does for certain influences he sees at work upon it, whether those influences emanate from the dogmas of the late Mr. Dulles, from the State Department's more recent manipulations, or from individual citizens like Cardinal Spellman.

In attempting to use his Congolese experiences to illuminate the political matrix within which UN politicians operate, Mr. O'Brien has probably been too ambitious. The crux of his discussions, and they are extremely interesting, really represents elaborations of his major contentions about the causes of UN failure in the Katangan affair which he cited in his letter of resignation (Appendix III).

The obstacles confronting him in Katanga were sunk deep. UN policies were, of course, noisily flouted by Moise Tshombe, ostensible leader of Katangan independence. Nevertheless, Mr. O'Brien does not believe Tshombe to have been the master of his ship. Behind Tshombe hovered the sinister, possibly murderous Bayeke chieftain, Gabriel Munongo, and behind each of these men loomed the really powerful villains: the agents of the Union Minière du Haut-Katanga, Belgium, France and especially of Great Britain.

Mr. O'Brien's ax is well-honed. The Katangan principals of the Union Minière emerge as veritable caricatures of exploitative capitalists. They are sleek and greedy, parochial, myopic, and unreasonable. O'Brien sees them as trying to maintain their interests against the UN, against their man Tshombe, if necessary, and certainly against Africans in general. As for the Belgians, including M. Spaak, Mr. O'Brien implies there is at least something to be said for them; namely, they have openly, assiduously, and consistently tried to frustrate the UN in the Congo.

French and British virtues are much less obvious to him. Armed with Security Council vetoes they might honorably have checked UN plans at the start of the crisis, he argues. Instead, so great are the menaces and magnetisms of American power, they pretended publicly to favor the Congo resolution, only to labor covertly to eviscerate it and to subvert his mission. Such opposition, urges Mr. O'Brien, is as damaging to the UN as the Soviets' blatantly intransigent employment of the veto. O'Brien feels the British, operating through UN headquarters as well as the Rhodesian government of Sir Roy Welensky, particularly indictable as a cause of his failure in Katanga. They not only shored up Tshombe's regime by furnishing a Rhodesian sanctuary for him and his followers, but went so far, he suggests, as to tolerate Rhodesian military incursions into Katanga.

Mr. O'Brien professes awareness of the limitations of his information and the area of his understanding; his presentation thus constitutes neither a rounded, profound nor subtle analysis. By examples and implications he reminds us repeatedly that international politics is unlovely, even dastardly business, that national rhetoric and behavior are poles apart, that UN politicking has been marred by ambiguities, guile, and the sycophancy of many of its members.

Nonetheless, it is hard to believe

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Conscience—its importance is eternal"
—PABLO CASALS

DO YOU REMEMBER that the Spanish Civil War ended 24 years ago?

DO YOU KNOW that there are 100,000 refugees of that war still living in France?

WILL YOU HELP a Spaniard, old and sick, living in misery and loneliness, forgotten by the free world?

In October 1961, Spanish Refugee Aid (founded 10 years ago) opened the

FOYER PABLO CASALS

in Montauban, France, named after its Honorary Chairman. This Center for old Spaniards has provided clothing and monthly food packages, cash for winter fuel and friendly, comfortable surroundings in which 194 refugees over the age of 60 can keep warm, meet their friends, read, listen to music and TV. The Foyer helps people like Pedro G., who is 69 and lives on $12 a month, his French Government pension. $100 will assist a couple for a year, $25 will help one old man or woman through the hard winter months. Please give what you can to help these aging and needy Spanish Republicans.

FOYER PABLO CASALS
Spanish Refuge Aid, Inc.
80 E. 11 St., N.Y.C. 3, N. Y.

Here is my contribution of ..... for the FOYER.

Name .....

Address .....

City, Zone, State .....
C **Contributions are tax-deductible.**

Mr. O'Brien was as unsuspecting as he implies about the political hazards of his post, about the stakes at issue, or the lengths to which some powers would go to secure them. Certain facts made up the warp and woof of his professional career. He could hardly have expected to prosper in his role merely by disliking them—though his antipathies are frequently admirable ones.

One must have grave doubts, too, that he can be entirely fair. Mr. Hammarskjöld, after all, and O'Brien with him, interpreted the UN Congo resolution with considerable license. Intervention, they felt, *should* have favored the Central Government. It may be this was the best way to a viable solution. There can be no doubt, however, that they adopted an exceedingly bold and dangerous view of the UN's function, one inevitably productive of deep divisions among member governments, which like Great Britain, conceived of intervention in more neutral terms.

As fighting flared, Mr. Hammarskjöld, under heavy pressure, decided to trim sail. In tacking, O'Brien thinks it regrettable that Hammarskjöld tried to conceal the real nature of UN intervention (which was actually designed to break Katanga's mercenaries) and to make it appear to be purely defensive. In the midst of this effort Hammarskjöld was killed; Mr. O'Brien, though, remained vulnerable and exposed. That he was sacrificed does not prove that U Thant, Mr. Bunche and other colleagues were either unstatesmanlike or unwise. More evidence, and time, is required before Mr. O'Brien's none-too-tragic resignation can be evaluated, for who would say the situation was made worse by it?

Meanwhile, substance aside, it is easy to admire many of O'Brien's personal traits. His compassion, his repugnance to pain and death are sufficiently uncommon to be special virtues. He scores heavily with his humanity: his descriptions of flights over burned-out villages, his comments on the callous confidence of European mercenaries, his assessment of the arrogance and presumptuousness of those manning imperial economic establishments and his observations on the massive racial gulf between whites and blacks. Finally, his book recalls to us the plight in which honorable men sometimes find themselves when they serve governments or causes. And in a larger sense it is a welcome warning that great cruelties are the dividends of our failure to think clearly and humanely about means and ends.

Springtime Frost

The Major Themes of Robert Frost. By Radcliffe Squires. The University of Michigan Press. $3.95.
The Poetry of Robert Frost. By Reuben A. Brower. Oxford University Press. $5.75.
The Poetry of Robert Frost. By John Robert Doyle. Witwatersrand University Press. $7.50.

by Janet Fiscalini

GOOD criticism is rarer than good poetry; and bad criticism tends to be more harmful than bad poetry. The selected bibliography in *The Major Themes of Robert Frost* lists seven full-length critical books on Frost's poetry, all of them published before his death. There are times when naïveté is helpful: if you ask how many poems were evoked by Frost's death, you may see the point we have come to.

This is not the place for a crusade. But American industry is turning out too many "critical studies" in which a specialized vocabulary conceals a wonderful absence of thought or matter; a "professional" attitude excuses an absence of spirit or style; and a clumsy condescension clouds the fact that with no particular audience in mind the author is mixing the most elementary with the most erudite comment, in an "exhaustive" treatment which is of no use to anyone.

I am not sure that contemporary criticism, even at its best, can say much about poetry like Frost's. But the merits of Radcliffe Squires' book should be mentioned. Its subject is defined; its opinions are independent; and its language is, for the most part, lucid and vigorous. Mr. Squires is concerned with the implications of Frost's thought and the degree to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

which he resolved or evaded them in his poems. There has been a good deal of argument about Frost's "evasiveness," and I doubt that this book will put an end to it. Nevertheless the interpretation turns up some insights and some new information. There is a startling reappraisal of the narrative poems; a thoughtful explanation of Frost's fantasy; a highly suggestive account of a little-known early play; and a final, brilliant reading of "West-Running Brook." This brief study threatens no one's innocent hopes for literature or mankind, and the student may find it useful.

In his preface to *The Poetry of Robert Frost*, Reuben Brower says that his aim is "humane reading, not criticism as it is ordinarily practised." Whether the "humane" reading of Frost's poetry is presently advanced by two hundred and fifty pages of formal and intellectual comment is questionable. But humane or not, it is hard to say whose reading he had in mind.

With the possible exception of the defense of *The Masque of Reason*, there is nothing here for anyone with a reasonable knowledge of poetry and a guarded knowledge of contemporary criticism. I may be wrong in believing this defense to be obfuscating, evasive, and irresponsible, but if new principles are being enunciated, why are they embedded in a book which begins with classroom paraphrase and "prosodic" analysis?

Certainly some of the material might be useful to an unspecialized reader, if it were presented in a casual essay. But while the conclusions are simple, the arguments are often technical. And even if the unspecialized reader were able to judge the relevance of something like the comment on Wordsworth's syntax, I doubt that he would be aided by such detail and repetition. Something is wrong with a conception which leads a learned and presumably sensitive man into the futile, the ponderous, and the meaninglessly misleading.

The Poetry of Robert Frost by John Robert Doyle, is a textbook which uses Frost's poetry as a teaching device. According to the preface, it contains "analyses of more poems (of Frost's) than any book on the market today." Believe it or not, the execution is uglier than the intention.

Simon on Authority

A General Theory of Authority. By Yves R. Simon. University of Notre Dame Press. $5.95.

by Eugene Fontinell

EVERY AGE is called upon to struggle with the perennial tension between freedom and authority, for it is now evident that no thinker or group of thinkers can resolve this question once and for all. The recurring consideration of this problem is, therefore, both inevitable and fruitful. In modern times, however, there has developed a tendency to make either freedom or authority an isolated cause. This has meant an identification of liberals with freedom and conservatives with authority.

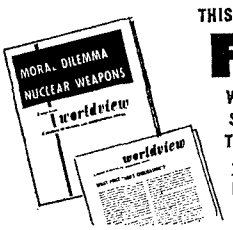
It is a commonplace to say that in this question as in so many others there is a compelling need to move beyond such superficial and passion-arousing categorizations. In his last

Essays from
worldview

THE
MORAL DILEMMA
OF
NUCLEAR WEAPONS

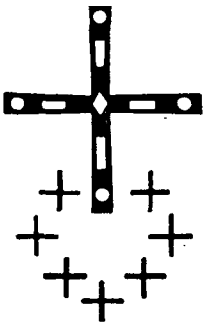
This much-talked-about collection of essays—by John Courtney Murray, John C. Bennett, Walter Millis, John Cogley, Julian N. Hartt, etc.—will be given to you free with your two-year subscription to **worldview**, the much-talked-about monthly journal of religion and international affairs.

For its perspective on current history, **worldview** chooses the firm, high ground of the Judaeo-Christian tradition. You are invited to share this vantage point by becoming a regular reader of **worldview**. We are confident your regular encounter with **worldview** will help you refine your perspective of world events which so urgently depend for their resolution on the thought and action of discerning men everywhere. Send your name and address with your $4 order for 24 issues of **worldview**. Or, we can bill you later. Your copy of **The Moral Dilemma of Nuclear Weapons** will be forwarded immediately.



THIS SPECIAL SYMPOSIUM
FREE
WITH YOUR 2-YEAR SUBSCRIPTION $4 TO WORLDVIEW

170-B EAST 64th ST.
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

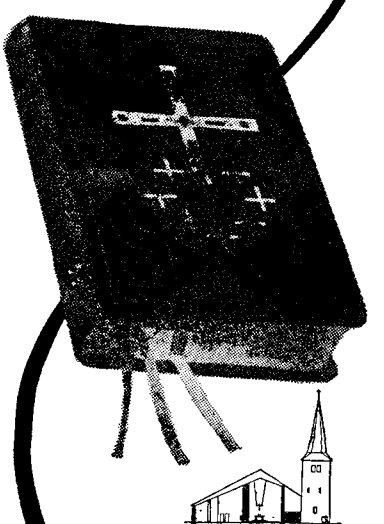


FIRST COMMUNION, GRADUATION, CONFIRMATION, WEDDINGS,

for all occasions,

THE PERFECT GIFT!

"The major event of the year in the missal field was the appearance of the Layman's Missal. It is compact, artistic, practical. It is a remarkable achievement."—WALTER M. ABBOTT, S.J., *America*



LAYMAN'S MISSAL
PRAYER BOOK AND RITUAL

Available at all bookstores in nine handsome bindings and many colors—$3.95 to $16.00 or write for free descriptive brochure.

HELICON PRESS
BALTIMORE 2, MD.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A BESTSELLER!

That is what Fr. John Castelot's latest book is fast becoming. Why? Because more and more people now understand the newly-awakened importance of—and their lack of understanding of—the New Testament. So they are buying the book which ends their ignorance and gives them the newest, most accurate, and most readable introduction to the entire New Testament:

MEET THE BIBLE!

New Testament

"Here indeed is one of the finest basic introductions to the New Testament ever to be published in this country."
—John B. Mannion $4.95

ASK FOR OUR FREE CATALOG

HELICON PRESS
BALTIMORE 2, MARYLAND

TEXTBOOK EDITORS

Elementary School Level

Exceptional opportunities for 2 men with minimum of 1 year editorial experience. Major publishing company offers excellent growth potential, desirable suburban location and comprehensive benefit program.

SCIENCE EDITOR
Strong science background

HISTORY EDITOR
Strong European history background

Send full particulars of education, experience and salary history, in confidence to

Box 517, The Commonweal

The Pope's Encyclical
PACEM IN TERRIS
will be discussed by
SEAN CALLERY
of the National University of Ireland
FRIDAY, MAY 17, 8:30 P. M.—ADM. FREE
1731 East 21st St., Brooklyn, near Kingshighway
Ausp.: Kingshighway Com. for a SANE Nuclear Policy

Subscribe to The Commonweal
17 ISSUES FOR $2
Use trial subscription form on back cover

work, the distinguished Thomistic philosopher, Yves Simon, does not fulfill this need: he remains within the liberal-conservative dichotomy. But in this, as in his two earlier works on the subject, he most certainly avoids superficiality and brings to the consideration of this question a welcome civility.

One will not find in Simon any simplistic defense of authority in the name of order. On the contrary, he has given us a sophisticated, subtle, and at times illuminating series of reflections. It is unfortunate, however, that Professor Simon did not give more emphasis to those "conservative" misunderstandings and abuses of authority to balance his trenchant critique of the "liberal" misunderstandings and antagonisms. Undoubtedly he felt that the need of the moment is a defense of authority to counterbalance the attacks on it. In terms of the larger community there is much to support this claim but among Catholics, who will most likely constitute the bulk of his audience, just the opposite situation prevails. Nevertheless, Simon's theory demands a serious hearing on its own terms, independently of any possible misuse of it.

The functions of authority which are the primary concern of Simon are those which "originate in nature and plenitude rather than in deficiency." These he designates as *essential*. It is through a consideration of the common good and common action that Simon is enabled to demonstrate the essential necessity of authority. He first establishes this authority in reference to united action, strongly rejecting the "myth of a perfect knowledge which would eliminate authority and liberty." Increased knowledge rather than reducing, actually increases the number of genuine means capable of realizing the common good. Hence the indispensable need for authority, described by Simon as a "power in charge of unifying common action through rules binding for all."

It is not only the requirements of common action which demand authority, however, for actually the "most essential function of authority" is exercised in the selection of the common end. Simon's argument here is expressed in the technical terms of matter and form but his conclusion is that authority is as necessary for the determination of just what does further the common good (end), as it is for the way in which this is to be achieved (means).

Through such discussions as the foregoing, Simon conclusively demonstrates not only his control of the classical arguments for authority but also his ability to enrich them in a distinctive manner. Nevertheless, there remains a serious question as to whether these arguments and the categories which they employ are fully adequate to the problems posed by the exigencies of the modern situation. The deeper level of the critique of authority found in such thinkers as Rousseau, Kant and Dewey is not expressed in terms of authority vs. no authority, but rather as *external* vs. *internal* authority.

To have demonstrated the necessity of authority, therefore, leaves untouched the question as to whether or not that authority which rightfully commands my obedience can ever be an authority which comes totally from without and in which I am in no way a vital participant. Nowhere would this question seem to be more relevant than in the problem of Church authority.

The most interesting and in some ways the least satisfying part of Simon's book is his treatment of the relation of the positive and transcendent systems of truth to society. A liberal, for Simon, is one who "holds that society must refrain from any act relative to transcendent truth." He quickly adds that this "sociological agnosticism" is held by many who are in no way agnostic in religion, ethics or even in metaphysics. Simon first argues that while "the unrestricted right of scientists to speak their mind generally suffices to ensure the victory of knowledge over ignorance and of truth over error," in the philosophical realm "the least that can be said is that *truth is not going to take care of itself.*"

Aside from the philosophical difficulties involved, the obvious question is, who will "take care" of philosophical truth? Simon gives no satisfactory answer to this question other

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

11th Annual

Liturgical Music Workshop

August 18-30, 1963

BOYS TOWN, NEBRASKA

JEAN LANGLAIS, *Paris, France, Basilica of St. Clotilde*—Organ

CORNELIUS BOUMAN, *University of Nijmegen, Holland*—Liturgy

FRANCIS BRUNNER, *Chicago, Illinois*—Seminars

RICHARD SCHULER, *College of St. Thomas, St. Paul, Minnesota*—History

FRANCIS P. SCHMITT, *Boys Town*—Gregorian Chant, Boychoir

PAUL SALAMUNOVICH, *Mount St. Mary's College, Los Angeles, California*—Polyphony, Contemporary Music

ROGER WAGNER, *University of California at Los Angeles*—Polyphony, Contemporary Music

Inquire:

Music Department
Boys Town, Nebraska

TEGAWITHA
CATHOLIC CAMP
FOR GIRLS, 6-16

Atop the Poconos. On private lake. All land sports, swimming, riding, dramatics, dancing, crafts, tutoring. 8- or 4-week period. Private chapel on grounds.

46th Year

For catalog, address:

Mrs. James P. Lynch, Director
Camp Tegawitha, Box G,
Tobyhanna, Pa.

Classified

• RATES: 25¢ a word, 12 words minimum. Centered lines: $1.50 a line, 2 lines minimum.
Discounts: 3 times, 5%; 7 times, 10%; 13 times, 15%. Payable with order.

Chesterton and Belloc Books

• CHESTERTON'S and BELLOC'S Books. 200+ titles stocked. Free Catalogue. Andrew Prosser, 3113 N. Keating, Chicago 41, Ill.

Periodical

• OPINION LEADER? Thought-provoking newsletter helps you get publicity, know mass media. Three Issues, $1. THE OPINION LEADER, Suite 1612-F3, 29 E. Madison, Chicago 2, Ill.

Instruction

• EXPERIMENT WITH "SLEEP-LEARNING." Fascinating, educational. Details free. RESEARCH ASSOCIATION, Box 24-CX, Olympia, Washington.

than to say that "some schools of philosophy are better than some others" and that we are as dependent upon society in philosophy as we are in science. The extension of this argument leads Simon to conclude that temporal society cannot ignore the transcendent dimension of such values as life, property, honor, and dignity. "But how will the possibilities of wisdom be determined?" Simon replies unequivocally that prudence, not philosophy, must determine this inasmuch as "philosophy, even in practical functions, does not deal with contingency. . . . In issues such as the present one, long, complex, and difficult inquiries have yet to be started after philosophy has said its last word."

Two observations are in order, one relating to history and the other to philosophy. The historical record of those who claim the right of the state to maintain and promote "transcendent propositions" is not very encouraging and no reasonable guarantee is offered that it would be any better in the future. Concerning the philosophical implications, one must commend Simon for the restraint which he exercised in remaining consistent with his own philosophical principles which exclude consideration of any issues involving contingency. By the same token, however, many will feel a certain uneasiness with a philosophy that by its own definition is forced to leave the game so early, and just when things are beginning to get rough.

One's enthusiasm for this work will undoubtedly be increased or diminished in proportion to one's acceptance of the Aristotelian-Thomistic world view which it presupposes. Professor Simon manifests, however, a richness of phenomenological insight which makes confrontation with his thought a rewarding experience whether or not one shares his fundamental orientation.

REVIEWERS

C. K. Yearley, Jr., is a member of the history department at the University of Florida.

Janet Fiscalini has contributed poetry to *Accent* and the *Chicago Review*.

Eugene Fontinell teaches at Queens College and is an editor of *Cross Currents*.

What Catholics are reading and thinking about

THE MODERN GOD:
Faith in a Secular Culture
by Gustave Weigel, S. J.

An analysis of modern man's ideas of God and of unbelief in America. The noted Jesuit thinker, Father Weigel, explores some of the greatest dilemmas facing man today: the place of God in the civic order, the witness of the churches, the relevance of God in a modern society. $3.95

AMERICAN PLURALISM AND THE CATHOLIC CONSCIENCE
by Richard J. Egan, S. J.

In this comprehensive study of Church-State problems, the author answers two questions that continually beset the American community: "How compatible are American institutions with freedom of the Catholic conscience?" and "How compatible is Catholic belief with political tolerance?" $5.95

RELIGION AND CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY
edited by Harold Stahmer

The paradoxical character of American piety is here brilliantly appraised by Walter J. Ong, S. J., Wilhelm Pauck, Reinhold Niebuhr, Arthur Cohen, Harry Jones, Robert Lekachman, and John Wicklein. They offer a probing examination of the three major faiths and their effect on American culture; then discuss the dangerously divisive elements among them. $3.50

THE CATHOLIC CAMPUS
by Edward Wakin

In this thorough and penetrating survey, the author scrutinizes representative Catholic colleges from St. Louis, a Jesuit university, to Rosary, an outstanding women's college, and Marillac, a college exclusively for nuns. An indispensable guide for young people, their parents and advisors. $3.95

Just Published
THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND **by Philip Hughes**

A new, revised, one-volume edition of a classic work. $15.00

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
60 Fifth Avenue, New York 11, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

On Target

In its thirty-eight years of continuous publication The Commonweal has served, in good times and bad, in war and peace, as a major stimulus to American Catholic thought. It is known for its insight on current happenings and the outspokenness of its comments. Now, in the new climate engendered by Pope John and the Vatican Council, this widely quoted, lay-edited journal of opinion has more to contribute than in the years before. Characteristically in the weeks ahead our attention will be focused on such topics as the:

—unmet need of federal aid to education

—effects of Christian Democrat losses in the Italian elections

—obstacles to the Kennedy domestic program

—changing concepts of the Catholic layman's role

—hopes for a test ban and disarmament

—American Negro's struggle for justice, North and South

—prospect for Laos, Vietnam, Southeast Asia

—progress of the Ecumenical Movement

—search for an effective Cuba policy

The attached trial subscription offer will bring you over 400 pages of illuminating comment by eminent contributors from this country and overseas. It will enable you to enjoy such regular features as the columns of Robert McAfee Brown, John Cogley, James O'Gara, William V. Shannon and Wilfrid Sheed, which provide an abundance of topical reading, as well as a wide variety of literary articles and stage, screen and book reviews. This all adds up to an attractive bargain offer that saves you over half the single-copy price.

Mail Coupon or a Facsimile for Special Trial Offer

17 Issues for $2

For New Subscribers Only

THE COMMONWEAL, 232 Madison Ave., New York 16, N. Y.

Enclosed is $2. Please send the next 17 issues of The Commonweal to:

Name .....

Address .....

City .....Zone .....State .....

5/17/63

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED